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*be made to the United States entering into any treaty in which it agrees to do any specific thing in advance of its happening.*

*The Senate is a part of the treaty-making power, and has to be consulted in most places where in other countries the executive acts alone. Of course the Senate can refuse to carry out its promises just as the executive can. And it should therefore never make promises that it does not expect to carry out in good faith.*

8. The plans assume that the United States Senate can be prevailed upon to accept a scheme which will materially curtail its constitutional prerogatives, subordinate the Congress of the United States to a league unknown to and inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and change both in fact and in theory the form and substance of the Republic of the Fathers.

*The Senate is mighty "onery" at times, but when the people apply the lash the Senate always moves.*

9. The advocates of an international police as a means of restricting wars do not seem to know, at least they ignore, that, though the proposal is very old, it has never been seriously or popularly received. Without going back to the Greek "Councils," it is a fact that Dante proposed a world federation, backed by force, in his "Convito" early in the fourteenth century. The Grand Design of Henry IV embodied the same principle in 1601. A few years later Hugo Grotius suggested the importance of "certain congresses of Christian powers, in which the controversies among some of them may be decided by others who are not interested, and in which measures may be taken to compel the parties to accept peace upon equitable terms." In 1693 William Penn's plan for the peace of Europe allowed for an international force. Saint Pierre and Rousseau had a similar plan in the early eighteenth century. Lord Liverpool's foreign secretary, Robert Stewart, better known as Viscount Castlereagh, went to the Congress of Vienna, 1814-1815, for the purpose of establishing an armed

concert of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, Prime Minister to Louis XV of France, when presented with the scheme proposed by Saint Pierre, pleasantly remarked that the document should have a preliminary article providing for the education of missionaries "to dispose the hearts of the Princes of Europe to submit to such a diet." This discriminating suggestion of the Prime Minister suggests today a genuine objection to the plan for an international police.

*It is true the suggestions cited for a world federation have never been carried out as proposed; but how about such Leagues of Peace as the Swiss Confederation, the German Confederation, the Commonwealth of Australia, and, most important of all, the United States of America? These all had force behind them to provide against their being broken by enemies, both within and without.*

10. We may omit all reference to the Monroe Doctrine and to our ancient policy of avoiding entangling alliances, and simply add that to stress at this time the plan for an international police makes the solution of the problem of war more difficult by complicating it with a factor which is not only unknown, but at this time quite unnecessary.

*This is the only argument of the ten worth serious attention. It might offer insuperable obstacles to the United States joining a League of Peace at the present moment if the League agreed to ENFORCE ALL THE DECISIONS of the International Court. But if the League only agreed to use force against the nation that went to war before resorting to a Court or Council of Conciliation, as is proposed in the recently formed League to Enforce Peace, there ought not to be any objection to a nation presenting its case, even the Monroe Doctrine, before such a court or council. See President Lowell's article in the current Atlantic Monthly for a full discussion of this.*

## PLATFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

HELD IN SAN FRANCISCO AND BERKELEY, OCTOBER 10-13, 1915

This platform is printed as it was unanimously approved by the Congress. Dr. David Starr Jordan, President of the Congress, was commissioned by the delegates to take these resolutions in person to the President of the United States, with the special instruction to lay emphasis upon the proposal in Resolution V for a Conference of Neutral Nations. It was also voted that copies of the platform be submitted to the members of Congress, the Cabinet, and the Governors of the States.—THE EDITOR.

THIS Congress gratefully recognizes that to the President of the United States is largely due the fact that this Republic has remained law-abiding, despite currents of fear, hate, and excitement, and that it stands firm on the only basis on which civilization can be restored or peace maintained—the foundation of law.

II. The defense of the Republic is not primarily a matter of armies and navies, but it lies in justice, conciliation, and trust in international law. While we do not urge disarmament under present conditions, we are opposed

to the current widespread demand for costly preparation against hypothetical dangers. If exhausted Europe is an increased menace to America, it must likewise be so to other neutrals, while armament expansion on our part incites similar action in the nations of South America and Asia.

"The hoped-for leadership of America in the achievement of a new-world order would be defeated by her surrender to the belief that the lesson of the great war is that she should seriously enter further into the old-world competition in armament, for, in the words of Washington, 'Overgrown military establishments are, under any form of government, inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.'"

III. This Congress looks with apprehension on the presence in advisory boards of the United States Govern-

ment of men personally interested in the preparation, manufacture, or sale of munitions of war.

The Congress further questions the propriety of appointing on Congressional committees men who are or who have been concerned with the manufacture or trade in war materials.

IV. Meeting at the time and place of this International Exposition, which stands as a great triumph of Peace, this Congress brings its indictment against the present war:

The great war is bleeding Europe white. It is working havoc without parallel in the best racial elements in all nations concerned, thereby exhausting the near future and bringing subsequent impoverishment, physical and mental, to the race.

An intolerable burden of sorrow and misery is thrown on the women and children in the various nations—those who had no part in bringing on the war and no interests to be served by it.

No possible gain, economic or political (the integrity of invaded territory being assured), can compensate any nation for the loss, distress, and misery involved in this war and aggravated by every day of its continuance.

No probability exists that military operations in any quarter, on land or sea, can of themselves bring the war to an end.

A sweeping victory on either side, even if attainable, would not contribute to the solution of the problems of Europe, being sure to leave an increasing legacy of hate with the seeds of future wars.

V. The outcome of recent missions to the governments of the warring nations warrants the belief that, while the nations at war are not willing themselves to begin negotiations or even to signify a desire to do so, lest it be interpreted as a sign of weakness and place them at a disadvantage in the final peace settlement, there is nevertheless abundant evidence that those charged with the administration of the foreign policies of these nations would welcome, or at least not oppose, affirmative action by a neutral agency to bring about a peace based on international justice:

This Congress therefore respectfully urges the President of the United States to co-operate with other neutral governments in calling a conference of neutral nations, which would constitute a voluntary court of continuous mediation, would invite suggestions of settlement from each of the warring nations, and in any case submit to all of them simultaneously reasonable proposals as a basis for peace.

VI. The numerous programs for a constructive and lasting peace, formulated since the beginning of the war by national and international conferences, prove that there is a deep-seated and universal revulsion against the forces and ideals that have brought on the present conflict.

This popular demand for constructive peace, if directed into definite channels, will exert a profound influence on the terms of peace.

This Congress rejoices that the international labor, women's, and other movements are preparing for international meetings to be held at the same time and place as the conference of powers which shall arrange the terms of peace. Provision should be made by which

other bodies, too, shall be represented in a similar manner.

To this end the Congress advocates the immediate constitution of a joint committee of representatives of all forces interested in the furtherance of a lasting peace along the lines outlined by the Emergency Peace Federation of Chicago, which committee shall establish a central clearing-house and insure a constant and persistent campaign of education and action, national and international.

VII. The program of the League to Enforce Peace, lately adopted in Philadelphia, represents a constructive plan to prevent international war among civilized nations.

With the members of the league, we believe it to be desirable for the United States to enter a real partnership of nations based on equal rights for all and established and enforced by a common will. Such a league should bind the signatories substantially to the following, which, with slight alterations, is identical with the program of the League to Enforce Peace:

First. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

Second. All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration and recommendation.

Third. The signatory powers shall jointly use, first, economic pressure, and later, if necessary and practicable, international police force against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted, as provided in the foregoing.

Fourth. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal above mentioned.

VIII. This Congress strongly urges the calling of the Third Hague Conference to follow as soon as possible the conclusion of the present war. It further urges that the delegates to such conference represent the civil and not the military authority of their respective countries.

IX. This Congress expresses its cordial approval of the policy for restoring order in Mexico by the co-operation with our Government of other American republics. This has tended to allay the fears of the peoples of South America regarding the policy of the United States. We believe that fear and force cannot bring respect, and that the moral influence of a nation tends to fail as its military equipment increases.

X. This Congress believes that the Monroe Doctrine should merge in a League of Peace of the temperate Americas, which should effectively put an end to civil and international war on this continent.

XI. This body appeals to the Congress of the United States to adopt an immigration policy based on the just

and equitable treatment of all races—a policy that will grant the rights of citizenship regardless of race or nationality, and to provide that all aliens should be under the special protection of the national government.

XII. The combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the most effective forces in opposition to war. We recognize that this influence cannot be fully exerted except through the adequate recognition of their social and political rights.

XIII. This Congress believes that universities and col-

leges should undertake especial research and instruction in international relations, and the sanitation of international politics and diplomacy by the application of science to the higher relations of men.

XIV. This Congress deplores every attempt to militarize this country. It declares against the establishment of military training in the schools, on the ground that this is reactionary and inconsistent with American ideals and standards, and leads toward the greatest burden yet borne by a civilized nation—that of military conscription—a condition incompatible with liberty.

## THE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

By FRANCIS B. LOOMIS

**T**HROUGHOUT five thousand years of recorded history peace, here and there established, has been kept and its area has been widened in one way only. Individuals have combined their efforts to suppress violence in the local community. Communities have co-operated to maintain the authoritative state and to preserve peace within its borders. States have formed leagues or confederations, or have otherwise co-operated, to establish peace among themselves. Always peace has been made and kept, when made and kept at all, by the superior power of superior numbers acting in unity for the common good.

"Mindful of this teaching of experience, we believe and solemnly urge that the time has come to devise and to create a working union of sovereign nations to establish peace among themselves and to guarantee it by all known and available sanctions at their command."

This statement comprises the appeal and the purpose of the League to Enforce Peace, which was organized amid the hallowed memories which surround Independence Hall in Philadelphia, on the 17th day of June last, by upwards of three hundred earnest, patriotic men. The inspiration which guided them was as noble as the inspiration which moved our forefathers to draft and sign the Declaration of Independence; and the purpose which they have in view is as pregnant with promise for beneficent effects upon mankind as was the purpose which animated the men who gave to the world the immortal declaration respecting human rights on July 4, 1776. The makers of the Declaration of Independence had in mind the creation of a nation from a number of widely-separated colonies. The men who formed the League to Enforce Peace have in mind, as an ultimate achievement, a federation of the great powers of the world for the purpose of maintaining peace. The League to Enforce Peace represents something more solid and practical than a mere expression of sentiment concerning the desirability of peace and the wastefulness and the horror of war. The men who conceived and organized it, after months of earnest consultation and striving, brought forth a plan not to put an end to war, but to diminish the possibilities of war and to reduce the number of wars. It is not a perfect plan, and it will be subject to processes of growth, amendment, and amplification; but it appeals to many men who have had hard, practical experience in governmental affairs and in deal-

ing with international questions, and who know something of the point of view of other nations and other peoples. It is a plan the simplicity and singleness of purpose of which marks it as worthy of consideration.

The aim and purpose of the league is concisely set forth in its platform, as follows:

First. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers not settled by negotiation shall, subject to the limitations of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question.

Second. All other questions arising between the signatories, and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

Third. The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing.

Fourth. Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in article 1.

The strength of the league, for the present at least, is that it does not ask or seek too much. Its hopes and desires are expressed in four brief paragraphs. Two of them are familiar to every one who of recent years has given thought to international matters and to the efforts made in behalf of international conciliation by various peace and arbitration societies. The ill-timed Taft general arbitration treaties, which were hopelessly mutilated by the Senate, and the Bryan arbitration treaties both contain provisions which seek to require nations which have serious matters in dispute to agree to submit them for a year's consideration to a commission of inquiry. So the league is asking for nothing unfamiliar in this connection. All justiciable questions not settled by diplomatic negotiation it asks shall be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment. This means arbitration; and with arbitral proceedings, their merits and defects, we are abundantly familiar. We have learned by experience that to the present time there are